3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

103
619

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

186
197
619

102
361

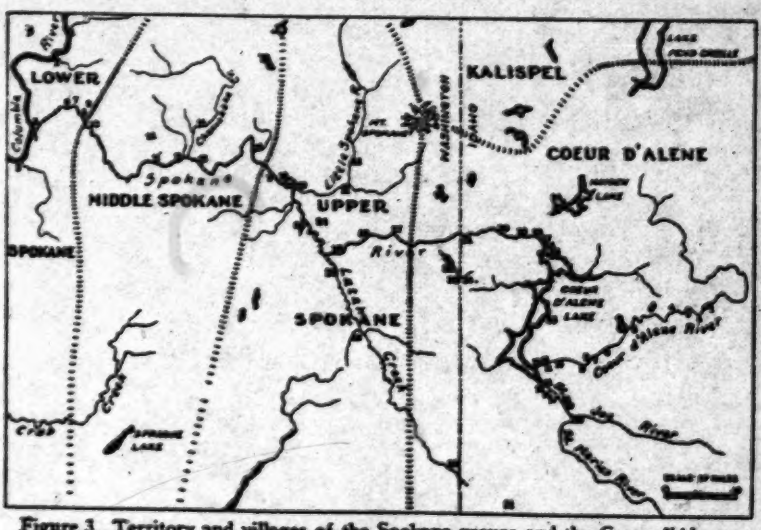

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

591
619

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

609
619
103

sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

101
487

Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

194

[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask*; turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end*; Greek omega

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

LAKES VILLAGES

103

1. npəpkolá't'skin ("place where many popkolt's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

[524]

[438]

After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kxxlə'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolá't'skin (1).

3. nt'sɬt'sdi'tk[a] ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[a]

4. átstɬəktst'cin ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sntkɬxuwe'ltən ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tɬtitko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[a]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

7. stcə'xalak[ə].
On the Columbia below Northport. (T no. 22)[46] 103

8. ntsətsɛrr̓'sem.[47]
At or very near Northport. (T no. 21)

9. snqi'lt ("above country," "on an elevation").
A settlement at the present site of Northport; formerly the home of the Lakes chief. (E)

10. sn'ăkewi'lten ("portage").
An encampment at Northport. (E)

11. nquli'la'.
This village, located on the Columbia river about a mile above the present village of Waneta, numbered four or five families throughout the year. The berry fields and salmon grounds of Northport were conveniently near at hand.

12. tcəlxi·'t'să.
This camp was located on the west side of the Columbia river at the site of the present town of Trail. Hunters used the site for a few days at a time as a base for deer hunting.

13. snəkəkale'um.
At a creek on the west side of the Columbia river close to Trail. (T no. 10)

14. kupi'tlks ("rubbing the chest"). 103 524
This was a settlement at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers, used as a temporary base for root digging. Travelers coming or going from the Kootenay or upper Columbia river valleys usually camped here for a week or two, visiting and gambling with friends and using the sweat houses. To a limited extent it also served as a hunting base.

15. ntăkuli'tk[ə] ("much river food"). 103
This encampment was on the north side of the Kootenay river about a mile above the mouth of the Slocan (slo'kăn) river. Trout pools were numerous in the river at this point making it a popular fishing center. Women used the site as a base for berry picking while men found it convenient for hunting bear. Parties usually stayed

[46]This, and following references in similar form, are to be read as Teit, "Salishan Tribes," village no. 22 of the group under consideration.

[47]Teit, Reichard and Ehrendorf have all recorded the r sound in Interior Salish, yet it probably is not present. It much more likely is the voiced velar spirant represented in the transcription as Greek gamma with subscript period. The gamma is used here without the period because of printing limitations.

103

here a week or two, most often during April just before the river began to rise. Later they moved to the north for caribou hunting, some travelling Slocan river route, some choosing the Kootenay river.

16. nxa·χa'tqan ("cave in the rocks").

This camp was the Kootenay river, opposite Nelson, at the edge of the caribou hunting area. Line fishing for trout was also profitable here.

17. k'iyá'mhup" (Kutenai word?).

A settlement at the site of the present town of Nelson.

18. yalsknkani" ("where many kukeni" [a small red fish] are found").

Located about six or seven miles above Nelson on the Kootenay river. Root gathering, bear and caribou hunting and trout fishing were all profitable.

19. ktca'ukul ("spliced trousers").

This encampment was near the present town of Balfour (?) on Kootenay lake. It was used as a temporary base during May and June.

20. na·χspoá'lk'en ("rocky bank made by spoá'lk'en [mythological character]").

On the west shore of upper Kootenay lake, exact location uncertain. Temporary camp.

21. sia'uks qa·l'su ("where the water flows outward" probably referring to the drainage of Trout lake into Kootenay lake).

This was a caribou hunting and fishing camp located at the lower end of Trout lake at the site of the present town of Gerrard. Drying racks for fish were erected here and travellers sometimes remained for several weeks.

22. snpotl'me·'p ("upper end of lake").

This encampment at the upper end of Trout lake was at the site of the present Trout Lake City. From here a portage usually was made to the end of Upper Arrow lake.

23. nk'umá'puluks ("end of the water").

This important camp was situated at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow lake near the site of the present town Compalix. It was a popular meeting place and a productive fishing, hunting, and berrying center. The camp was most populous in May and June.

24. skaxi'kantan.

A settlement opposite Revelstoke. (T no. 1)

25. kɔqpi'tɑɑ ("buffalo robe").
At the site of the present town of Arrowhead. (T no. 3)

103

26. kɑ'ɑɣɑnɑ'kɑ.
On Upper Arrow lake, now called Kooskanax. (T no. 4)

27. nɑqo'ɑp ("having buffalo").
Now called Nakusp. (T no. 5)

28. tci'ukɔn.
A little below Nakusp. (T no. 6)

29. snɑɣai'tsɑtsɔn.
Near the upper end of Lower Arrow lake, opposite Burton City. (T no. 7)

30. ɣaic'kɔn.
At a creek below Burton City. (T no. 8)

31. mamatsi'ntɑn ("log leaning outside a cave").
A village on Lower Arrow lake, exact location uncertain. It was a center for hunting mountain goat in March and April.

32. plu'me'.
This was a temporary camp on the east side of Lower Arrow lake near the site of the present Deer Park. It marked the lower end of the hunting and fishing territory.

33. sm·a'ip' ("large log leaning against a tree").
A temporary camping place at the foot of Lower Arrow lake.

34. A settlement at the site of the present town of Castlegar, near the fork of the Kootenay river and Lower Arrow lake, was important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman.

35. skɑtɑ'kalɵx.
On lower Slocan river. (T no. 17)

36. nkwcio'xtɑn.
On Slocan river above no. 35. (T no. 16)

37. kɑ·ntca·'k.
On Slocan river below the lake. (T no. 15)

38. sihwi·'lɑɣ.
On the lower part of Slocan lake. (T no. 14)

39. takɑkɑɣaitcakst ("trout ascend"?)
On Slocan lake, below no. 40. (T no. 13)

103

40. snkəmi'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'məltən.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtlu'stən ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwá'rəxən ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'tcu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

[622]

A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'x̣'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kan̓" ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

103

6. nye·'yot.
A village at the place now called Indian creek on the Clark Fork river about nine miles below Newport. (T, p. 313)

7. st'sa·'xolᵉ ("gravelly place").
This was a permanent village located on the north side of Clark Fork river at the site of the present town of Furport. Population, fifty persons.

8. sxwe'uwi" ("portage around the falls").
This was a fall fishing grounds and a winter hunting base located where Albany Falls, Idaho, is now found. Population, approximately fifty.

9. tci'iu" (refers to face paint).
This winter village was located on Clark Fork river just above the mouth of Priest river. Excellent fishing and hunting was available nearby. From here a trail led to Priest lake where beaver and martin were plentiful. Winter population, 100 or more; summer, a few families.

10. sna'k'ulti·'n ("ford").
Both sides of Clark Fork river at the present site of Laclede was the location of this village. It was a fishing and trapping center occupied by about fifty persons throughout the year.

11. qapqape' ("sand").
A village near the present town of Sand Point. (T, p. 313)

12. n tcamutsi' ("mouth of many streams").
The mouth of Clark Fork river at Pend Oreille lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement noted for its fishing grounds. The islands nearby were used as burial grounds. Population, 300-400.

13. m·ce'dncem ("rocky stream").
This winter village was located on the Thompson river about three miles above the mouth. Summer residents of village no. 10 often wintered at this location. Population, 300-400.

14. tca·luqwe'ul ("meadow or small prairie").
This was the easternmost Kalispel village, located at the site of the present town of Paradise, Montana. It was popular as a winter residence on account of the very slight snowfall. Population, 100 or more.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

COEUR D'ALENE VILLAGES

103

1. sqwatu·'tume ("small sharp-peaked mountain").
   This village, located at the site now called Cataldo, Idaho, was the uppermost Coeur d'Alene village on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was occupied throughout the year by 100 or more people, including the principal chief.
   Cataldo, the present town, was named for Father Cataldo but the Cataldo mission, established in 1853, was about fourteen miles northwest of here.

2. nalstqi'lxwan.
   Located a little below no. 1. (T no. 10, Coeur d'Alene river division, p. 39)

3. sncī'lamānts.
   A short distance below no. 2. (T no. 9, *idem*)

4. nsu·lut'.
   This year round settlement of about 40 people was situated at Old Mission near Rosedale.

5. A small camp of perhaps fifteen persons was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at the present site of Lane. The native name was not remembered by my informant.

6. sama'qwaq'an ("a small mountain on top of another").
   This camp of about fifteen persons occupied a site on the Coeur d'Alene river now called Medimont.

7. qoqole'tēlps ("black pines").
   A little above no. 8. (T no. 6, *idem*)

8. nst'ā·'kwa'st.
   This camp was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at Blue Lake (about a mile and a half below Medimont). It was very small, numbering two or three families or perhaps fifteen individuals.

9. d/'ltalpᵉ ("a large clump of cottonwoods").
   Midway between Medimont and Harrison, on the Coeur d'Alene river, was located this camp of about twenty-five people.

10. ne'atxa'xstam.
    A settlement a little above Harrison. (T no. 4, *idem*)

11. ăllkwa"ya"it.
    This village occupied the site of the present town of Harrison on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was a center of considerable importance, occupied the year around by about sixty persons.

103

12. gwa'lit.
Near the lakes and close to Harrison. (T no. 2, *idem*)

13. tcla'tcalx^{w}.
On Coeur d'Alene lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alene river. (T no. 1, *idem*)

14. tcêti'ctacacaq.
A settlement near the mouth of the St. Joe river. (T no. 2, p. 38)

15. tcami'^{w}as ("narrow peninsula between lake and river").
This camp, on the St. Joe river near the present site of Chatcolet, was occupied all year by about thirty people.

16. stcica'tat ("creek enters river").
This was an all year settlement on the south side of the river about one mile above Chatcolet. The population ranged around forty persons.

17. stclaldcke·tan ("precipitous stream enters the river").
This was a one family camp on the St. Joe river near Benewah lake (about two miles above no. 16). It was occupied throughout the year.

18. st'u'tsta'wa's'.
This large village was situated about a mile upriver from no. 17. It had a permanent population of about 100 persons, including the principal chief of the St. Joe river villages.

19. tcat'owa'calqs (T no. 4, p. 38)
This village occupied a site on the St. Joe river about two and one-half miles above no. 18. About sixty persons made this their home.

20. ntcamtsan ("confluence").
At the site now occupied by the town of St. Maries (the confluence of the St. Maries and the St. Joe rivers) was located this village. It was the furthest upriver village and thus an important base for hunting parties. About eighty persons lived here.

21. ni'luxwa'l'q^{w} ("spring in the timber").
This was a summer settlement of great importance in the open wooded country about a mile south of Desmet, Idaho, near the St. Joe forest. It was most populous during June and July at which time most of the Coeur d'Alene peoples gathered here for digging roots, particularly camas. The "first roots" ceremony was held here. Visitors from Spokane, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Yakima were numerous. A few persons remained here all winter.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

22. nłpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcêlā'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xənt'a·"qən' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'əmki'nkwi' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

[622]

26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənê'łpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rəpt.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·lm ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'łpənc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'lc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

33. tcana:'kwaqan ("two inlets at an angle")
A camp about two miles south of no. 32. Two or three families lived here. 103

34. A one family camp was situated just east of no. 33. My informant had forgotten its name.

LOWER SPOKANE VILLAGES

1. tcuwi'cast.
This was a small winter camp of three or four families located on the east side of the Columbia river just below the mouth of Hunters creek. This creek enters the Columbia at the present town of Hunters.

2. sw'edlə'kwetən ("where the trail meets the Columbia river").
This village of a few families was located on the east side of the Columbia river at the present village of Gerome.

3. snəkâ'lt ("rapids").
A site on the Columbia river just north of the mouth of the Spokane river (n·ka·'tkxʷ) was the location of this village. It gave its name to the Lower Spokane though it was not the principal village of the group, but a settlement of medium size consisting of three or four large houses and several smaller ones.

4. tc'ala"q'a.
This was a populous village situated directly across the Spokane river from no. 3, where the town of Miles is now found. (E)

5. npia'xam ("many hawks in the cliffs").
This camp was located at the confluence of the Columbia river and Hawk creek, the site now called Peach. It varied considerably in population from time to time, but never numbered more than a few lodges.

6. spw'xst ("river foam forming in eddies").
This settlement, on the north side of the Spokane river about a mile and a half below Detillion bridge (on state highway no. 22 across the Spokane river) was occupied in winter only.

7. di'a'lək'ən ("where a spring enters the river").
This was the largest camp of the Lower Spokane. It was admirably situated on the broad level bench above the north bank of the Spokane river about a mile below Detillion bridge. This site was near the river providing a readily accessible water supply and canoe landing, yet was high enough above the water level to be well drained

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

and safe from flood waters. Immediately back of the village rose a range of hills which effectively protected the site from excessive winds. The river at this point was of such a character that a highly successful salmon weir-trap could be maintained throughout the salmon season, providing an abundant supply of salmon both for current consumption and drying for storage.

Visitors were numerous from all nearby points but also came in considerable numbers from such relatively distant points as the Nez Percé country. The village was most populous in summer but numbered many scores throughout the winter.

8. kɐɣ‹'mɛ'us.

This camp was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the present site of Detillion bridge.

9. ayasi'kɔn.

This was a small year round camp at a tiny lake near Detillion bridge.

MIDDLE SPOKANE VILLAGES

10. ɬaámɔ'kɔn‹'seɔn ("head of the rapids where the water flows over").

This was a large winter camp on the north side of the river at the rapids four miles above village no. 9.

11. tc‹lmɛdl'mɛ'dlmɔn (probably refers to the salmon trap at this point).

This settlement, noted particularly for its salmon trap, was on the north side of the Spokane river four miles below the present Little Falls. The salmon trap attracted many people in the summer but a smaller number stayed throughout the year.

12. stca'tsuw‹ca ("camping ground").

This summer camp was at the site of the present village of Wellpinit. (E) (The name Wellpinit is an adaptation of a Sahaptin word. A number of Sahaptin speaking peoples are now (1936) resident on Spokane Indian Reservation of which the headquarters are located at Wellpinit.)

13. sqàsi'ɬni ("fishers" from stqsqaistsɔɔn, "fishery," Little Falls [E]).

This village, which gave its name to the Middle Spokane, was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the falls now known as Little Falls. This was the principal village of the Middle Spokane and the most populous. The location was an excellent one, similar in physical characteristics to the main village of the Lower Spokane. In addition the falls provided excellent spear and trap fishing for salmon.

A glacial terminal moraine formed the soil on which this village

103

was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'ɔmqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. ɑpłpu'pstɑn (''where pu'pstɑn [a grass] grows'').

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nsɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɑ·nu'yulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwɑmɑ'a'tcx^{a}, ''river where the steelhead trout run'').

20. nxwɑmɑ'ne (''steelhead trout place'')

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

[525]
[43]

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

21. tcɑltcɛymu'lɑ̀xª ("where a creek skirts the foot of a cliff").

About eight miles up the Little Spokane river, near the mouth of Deadman creek, was located this camp, noted as a hunting and fishing grounds. The settlement was a permanent one but numbered only a few families.

22. ntcɑtcɑtɛ'nts'in ("where the creek enters the river").

This village, on the Little Spokane river near the present town of Buckeye, was a winter settlement of four or five dwellings.

23. sua'tskxª (refers to a nest.)

This was a small autumn fishing camp and winter settlement between villages nos. 22 and 24, exact location uncertain.

24. stiuwa'thxª ("where stiua'tl [a mythological bird] nested").

This was a permanent camp of medium size situated at a site about two miles north of the Spokane river where the outskirts of Spokane now lie. Little snow accumulated here, making it a popular wintering place. Recently it came to be valued as an excellent grazing place for horses.

25. sqlaxa'lkª (refers to falls in the river).

This large permanent village was located on both sides of the Spokane river at the falls, now the center of the city of Spokane. The falls were excellent for spear and basket trap fishing, especially since they were too high for the salmon to ascend.

26. smma'tculks ("place where many crows are found").

This was a site just south of what is now Hillyard, Washington, on the north side of the Spokane river. It was a village of medium size noted for fishing, hunting and grazing. Occupation was during fall and winter only.

27. sqami'

This was a small winter camp at the point where the railroad bridge now crosses the Spokane river north of Dishman. The camp occupied the north side of the river.

28. qu'yu ("place where Oregon grape [Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh.] grows").

This village was situated on Latah (Hangman) creek about a mile above the point where the highway bridge now crosses the creek. It was a populous permanent settlement valued as a salmon and trout fishing grounds and for the abundant game, including deer, antelope and beaver, which the surrounding territory provided.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

29. tcəlsi'yutsu·m ("place where many woodpeckers are found").
This camp, located on Latah creek near the mouth of Rock creek, about ten miles above village no. 28, was similar in size and utilities to the latter. In the winter it was used as a base for large deer drives.

NESPELEM VILLAGES[46]

1. nəkuktc'ī'ptɑn ("big basin"?) home of the snəkuktc'ī'ptɑnux^{w}.
This was a summer settlement located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was not an exclusively Nespelem village since much of its population was made up of Southern Okanogan whose winter residence was ka·γta·' (no. 24) or elsewhere. Population, 100-150.

2. nspi·'lɑm (Nespelem) ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^{w}.
This permanent settlement, the largest of the Nespelem, was situated on the lower Nespelem river from the mouth to the falls about three-quarters of a mile above. Population, 200.

3. xaimi 'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·lux^{w}.
Located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river. Population, 100.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'łau.
This site was across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a semi-permanent settlement numbering perhaps 150 in winter.

5. ski'x^{w}, home of the ski'x^{w}.
This winter camp was about a mile above village no. 4. Population, 40-50.

6. masmasa'lɑmx^{w}, home of the smasmasa'lɑmxuwa'.
A winter camp approximately a mile and a half above village no. 5.

7. sk'lɑm'tcɑn ("passing the coulee"?), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'łau.
Opposite the mouth of Grand Coulee, at the site of the dam. Population, 40-50.

SANPOIL VILLAGES[46]

8. nkxo'ī'tq^{w} ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux^{w}.
Located about half way between villages nos. 7 and 11. Population, 20-30.

[46]Condensed from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," 15-21.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

9. wəl'walâ'skɪn ("solid rocks"), home of the swəl'walâ'skɪnx^{u}.
A winter camp situated a half mile upriver from village no. 8. Population, 20-30.

10. ts'aktsT'kskɪn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux^{u}.
This camp of ten or fifteen persons was located about a half mile below village no. 11.

11. na'a'q^{u} ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'aqau.
A permanent settlement located on the north side of the river about a mile below Plum. Population, 40-50.

12. ɬaqɬsula'ux^{u} ("level ground"), home of the sɬaqɬsula'uxuwa.
A winter settlement located near Plum. Population, 20.

13. kəlpusp'u'stən ("place where rye grass grows"), home of the kəlpus p'u'stənax^{u}.
This winter village occupied a site on the north bank of the river about a mile above Plum. Population 40-50.

14. sa'a·mlk^{u} (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlk^{u}.
A permanent settlement opposite no. 13. Population, 100.

15. npui·'lux^{u} ("gray as far as one can see"), home of the snpui·'lux^{u}. The name Sanpoil is a corruption of the latter term.
This was the principal village of the Sanpoil, located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Actually this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up the river for a half mile or more. The names of these camps follow, beginning at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continuing upriver: (a) snkelkuqwli'sxanan ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"); (b) qeltsətci'n ("cliff propped up"); (c) qetspkunu'lax^{u} ("knoll"); (d) qəqa·'mqam; (e) a branch of the snkelkuqwli'sxanan (a); (f) snpu·'tlam ("emerging from the brush"); (g) sk'exwi'lxu ("cave in the rocks"); and (h) snluq'a' luk^{u} ("wide, bushy place").
Total population in summer, 400; winter, 75-100.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula' lst^{u}.
This, the largest winter village of the Sanpoil, was located on the Columbia river at Whitestone, about eight miles above the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Population, 300.

17. nɬoxoyu's ("deep eyes"), fishing grounds of the sxula'lst^{u}.
Located about two miles above no. 16. Population, 50.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

18. snuk̓'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snuk̓'iltk[a].
A permanent settlement on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. Population, 80.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones").
A winter camp about three miles above no. 18. Population, 25-30.

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass").
A winter camp about two miles above no. 20. Population, 25-30.

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunax[a].
A winter village at Roger's Bar, opposite Hunters, Washington. Population, 150.

Following is a list of temporary camps along the Sanpoil river.[46] The list begins with the lowermost camp and proceeds upriver. These are not shown on the map.

A. ənluxu'la'x[a] ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.

B. ksi'k'əst ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.

C. ăqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'k'əst (B).

D. snxloa'pətɛ·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

E. p'u·'pəstən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller.

F. nmxo·'yăm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.

G. nxwi'i'pam ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.

H. sə'ă'ă'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.

I. ătcxulki'păstəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.

J. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cache creek. Hunting base.

K. nxat'lfcni'tk[a] ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cache creek. Hunting camp.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

L. sntxulu'stan ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cache creek. Served as a hunting base.

M. ·lu·'pisəm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stan (L), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.

N. slâkumu'lamx" ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'pisəm (M). Hunting base and root gathering camp.

O. nxlakatc'i'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.

P. ma'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.

Q. luxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu'm (Q) may or may not have been used as camp sites.

R. aqlq·ouxwi'lp" ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.

S. tqwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.

T. khi'i'pus ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

SOUTHERN OKANOGAN VILLAGES[46] [47]

22. t'kuya·'tum, home of the stkuya·'t.

Situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above Brewster. Population, 100.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən.

Located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Population 20-25 in the winter; many more in summer.

24. ka·yta·'.

A winter village situated near Goose lake at the site of the present Kartaro.

COLVILLE VILLAGES[48]

25. sntcali·"əm ("hits the river") home of the sntcali·"x".

A permanent village located about a mile above the present Inchelium. Population, 150.

26. nqua'si'əm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'x".

Located slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Population, 50.

[46] Incomplete; see footnote 34.

103

27. qəqəla'pia ("water logged"), home of the sqəqəla'piax^{u}.
Opposite the present town of Harvey. Population, 25-30.

28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'nax^{u}.
Located about fifteen miles above no. 27. Population, 75.

29. ntcumu'tastum, home of the sntcumu'tast^{u}.
Near Kettle Falls, six miles above no. 28. Population, 25-30.

30. qəluma"ax^{u} ("level land"), home of the sqəluma"ax^{u}.
Opposite Kettle Falls. Population, 25-30.

31. snətcumu'lau, home of the snətcumu'laux^{u}.
Situated at the site of the state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population in winter, 10; in summer, large numbers.

CHELAN VILLAGES

1. ntiă'tk^{u} ("weedy river").
This was a winter village located at the mouth of the Entiat river where the town of the same name now stands. It was occupied jointly by Chelan and Wenatchi peoples (see Wenatchi village no. 5).
The Entiat river served as a fishing stream but was not of great importance because of its small size.
The last chief of this village was named tɔxʌs'q'ɛ'n, "bald mountain."
Population, 100 or more.

2. ni'yà'lqan ("basin in which creek meanders").
This village of a few families was located at the mouth of Maple creek, just above the town called Winesap.

3. yamusi'tsă ("rainbow robe").
This village was located at the lower end of Lake Chelan. It was the largest winter encampment of the Chelan with a population of about 100. This was an important goat hunting base but for salmon fishing the residents migrated to the Wenatchee river. The precipitous drop from the lake to the Columbia river prevented any salmon from ascending.

4. xantci·'n ("little rocky gate") in the spă'tlmulux ("bitter root grounds") valley.
This village was on the south side of the Methow river just south of the present town of Pateros. It was the home of a "renegade band" of Chelan numbering fifty or 100. Formerly this was

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

doubtless the site of a Methow (mə'txo, "land of sunflower seeds") village, but was left unoccupied with the early rapid dwindling of that people.

WENATCHI VILLAGES

1. tapi'skn.

This was a permanent village numbering about fifty persons, located opposite the mouth of Moses Coulee near the mouth of Colocham creek.

2. skəlkəti'n.

This large permanent village was on the Columbia river about seven miles below the present town of Wenatchee, at Stemilt creek. The population was in excess of 300.[48]

3. skwətaktci'n.

The mouth of Squilchuck creek, a mile or two below Wenatchee on the west side of the Columbia river, was the site of this village. It was one of the largest permanent villages of the Wenatchi, numbering about 400 people.

4. pət'l'knu'lu.

This was a one family camp on the west side of the Columbia river at Zena, eight miles north of the mouth of the Wenatchee river.

5. ntiá'tk^{a} ("weedy river").

This village, at the present site of Entiat, was jointly occupied with the Chelan (see Chelan village no. 1). The Wenatchi population was perhaps forty.

6. alota's.

About one-half mile below Monitor, on the north side of the Wenatchee river, was located this village. The permanent population numbered about 200.

7. ntua'tckam.

The mouth of Mission creek, where Cashmere is now located, was the site of this village. The population was about 400 making it one of the largest of Wenatchi villages. It was a permanent village but most populous during the winter.

8. tcama·us ("narrow in the middle").

This village was situated at the mouth of Icicle creek about a mile south of the present town of Leavenworth. It was the princi-

[48]The population estimates here may be somewhat high but the ratios are probably reliable.

103 pal salmon fishing grounds of the Wenatchi. About 200 persons remained here throughout the summer but at the height of the salmon fishing season the population swelled to as much as 2,000 or 3,000 including visitors from both near and far. Large salmon drying racks were maintained here for the use of all.

9. tcwa'x.

The confluence of Chiwawa creek and the Wenatchee river was the site of this important fishing village. The salmon trap was located at skwatxwa'l, nearby.

COLUMBIA VILLAGES[47]

1. lxwa'xtcn ("living on the banks").

The mouth of Rock Island creek, at the Columbia river, was the site of this important village.

"Half Moon" was the last chief of this group.

2. nqwalqwalmi'n ("roasting place").

This village was located on the Columbia river where a small creek enters just north of Vantage. Though smaller than village no. 1, this was popular in winter because the site was unusually free of snow.

KITTITAS VILLAGES

1. à'tca ("coming out").

A village on the east side of the Yakima river just below Thrall, Washington.

2. k'a'tlx ("something hard").

This village was located about two miles below the present town of Ellensburg on the west side of the Yakima river. It was most populous in summer, numbering between 300 and 400 persons.[48]

3. yumi'c.

This winter village was situated about four miles below the present town of Thorp, on the east side of the Yakima river. It was a large village with a population of about 400.

4. kla'la.

About one mile above Thorp, opposite the mouth of Taneum creek, was located this village. It was a permanent settlement with a population of about 500, the largest of the Kittitas villages.

5. ti'plas.

The mouth of Swauk creek, near the present place called Dudley, was the site of this village. Its permanent population ranged around fifty.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

6. tiá'nawns.

This permanent village was located near the mouth of Teanaway creek. Its members used the Swauk creek and the Mountain Home hunting territories. The abundant game in the latter region attracted others during the fall. The permanent population was about fifty.

7. ta'txanuxca.

John Hill, on the south side of the Yakima river about four miles below Cle Elum, was the site of this village. Population, 50-60.

8. tlic'lam (Cle Elum).

This important summer camp occupied a site at the south end of Cle Elum lake where the river flows out. A huge salmon trap was maintained here, attracting as many as 1,000 persons during June and July. A smaller number remained throughout the summer.

9. ná'nam.

This large permanent village was situated on Naneum creek about seven miles northeast of Ellensburg, Washington. Population, about 400.

10. n'tsamtsa'mtcm (Salish word) ("grasshopper creek").

11. tc'da'xan (Salish word) ("standing at the side of your arm").

These two villages were located very near each other at the present site of Kittitas. They were important for the surrounding root digging grounds. They were well populated in May and June.

YAKIMA VILLAGES

1. k'u'ss ("two rivers meet" [Columbia and Snake]).

This large and important village was located where Pasco, Washington, now stands. Though claimed by the Yakima its population included many Walula and some Umatilla. Visitors were numerous since it was an important trading center. Also, it was a valuable site for fishing and taking eels. The settlement was occupied throughout the year.

2. tana'xalu ("throw rocks at fish").

This was a large permanent village on the Columbia river opposite the present town of Richland. It was noted especially as a fishing site.

3. A small village of twelve to sixteen lodges was located on both sides of the Yakima river where Kiona is now found.

103

4. tə·'ɡaɬ (a style of hairdress, "long hair in front, short hair on the sides").

Both sides of the Yakima river, where Prosser is now located, was the site of this important village. Scouts were placed here.

5. tsi·wi·'la ("fresh water clams").

This was a large permanent settlement on the south side of the Yakima river just below Mabton. It was an important trading point, especially for dried fresh water clams.

6. ts'a'lit.

This was a small settlement on the south side of the Yakima river about two miles below the mouth of Satus creek.

7. ici·'tc ("nest").

The mouth of Satus creek was the site of this large permanent settlement, second of all Yakima villages in size. It was a center for both summer and winter festivities, attracting large numbers of visitors. This village was of such a size that several chiefs were required.

8. palə·xi" ("hoofs").

This was a small camp located on the south side of the Yakima river just below the present village of Alfalfa.

9. p'alax ("food that tastes queer").

This small village was situated just above Alfalfa.

10. wa'lalk.

A small camp about one-half mile above no. 9.

11. wapuli ("water grass").

This small settlement, located opposite the present town of Boone, was noted for the grass used in weaving which grew in the vicinity.

12. talxima·'s ("fishing point").

This was a small winter village located opposite the present town of Zillah and a short distance below. It was noted for winter fishing.

13. si".

This was a large village opposite Zillah.

14. lut'sini" ("tree with white berries").

A large village located a short distance above no. 13.

15. x̣actu" ("strong water").

Located opposite the present Buena.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

16. awa'tam ("salmon jump" referring to the rapids).
On the south side of the Yakima river where the Sunnyside irrigation dam is now located.

17. pa'xotakyut ("hills together," Union Gap).
This was a large village extending for a mile or two along the Yakima river where Union Gap is now located. There was but one chief at this village.

18. tsi'kik ("spring").
This was the largest village of the Yakima. It was located at a spring about one mile north of Union Gap and a half-mile west of the river. The population here was perhaps 2,000.

19. ti'mani ("pictographs made by small boy").
The mouth of Naches river was the site of this large village.

20. wa'patuxs ("capital").
This village, at the site of the present town of Cowiche, was noted as a place where chiefs met together in council.

21. ta·'itan ("torch fishing")
This village, noted for night fishing and hunting, was located on the south side of Cowiche creek just above the present town of the same name.

22. tautunu'k ("medicine").
This was a small permanent village on upper Cowiche creek. It was near important hunting territory.

23. miya'wax ("chief").
This was a permanent village located on the upper Tieton river at the place now called Rimrock (Tieton dam). It was an important center for hunting, fishing and berry gathering.

24. xa'tk'apca ("ground which is loose").
This settlement was on Atanum creek above the mouth a short distance.

25. a'tanam ("creek going down").
This village was on the north side of Atanum creek directly south of the present town of Wiley. It was a large, rich settlement occupied throughout the year. Many visitors from distant points were to be found here.

26. ta'mtiko ("let's go to village below").
Located on Atanum creek directly south of the present Tampico.

3:. Ray, E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

27. ta'a'pas ("thin morning fog").
On the headwaters of the south fork of Atanum creek.

28. tsunkwi".
At the head of Simcoe creek near Saddleback ridge.

29. na'lisul ("water spurting out").
This village was located at what is now Fort Simcoe. A large spring here was of great value. The village was permanently occupied and quite populous.

30. nika's ("large meadow").
This camp, located a short distance east of the present White Swan, was particularly valued as a grazing grounds for horses, and a place of safekeeping out of the reach of raiding parties. Horses could be left here or taken away only by permission of the chief. Only the horse guards stayed here permanently.

31. cxuwi'ac ("meadow where fawns appear" ?)
This camp was located on Toppenish creek about seven miles below no. 30.

32. cicu" ("bad smelling water").
On Toppenish creek about two miles below no. 31.

33. ca'xu ("rock slide").
A camp on Toppenish creek about six miles above the mouth. From here a trail led over the Simcoe mountains.

34. txo'ipasc ("rain pouring out" ?).
This camp was located about four miles west of Granger. There was a spring here and the site was used for wintering horses.

35. xo'kiyaskt ("burial grounds").
This village and burial grounds was located on Satus creek about six miles above the mouth.

36. xi'ta'i ("many sharp pointed rocks").
This small camp was situated at the confluence of North creek and Satus creek. It was used as a temporary camp by travellers.

37. tlatla' ("forked tree").
A summer camp on the headwaters of North creek.

38. pa'wankwyud ("meeting place").
This was a large village with many chiefs, located on Satus creek near the mouth of Logy creek. Winter religious dances were held regularly here. Visitors from Wayampam were numerous.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

39. tamantcatani" ("basket trap").
This camp, located on Satus creek about two miles north of the summit of the mountains, was important as a root gathering base and for basket trap fishing.

40. txi·'una.
This was a scout camp at Satus pass.

41. wa·'xcam ("roots" used as food).
This root gathering camp was about five miles west of Satus pass.

42. lata'ma ("root roasting place").
This was a root gathering and hunting camp near the headwaters of Logy creek.

43. patkwa·'ip ("water coming down").
This was a permanent camp on the trail to the Wayampam and Umatilla territories, about half-way between Satus and Bickelton. One chief resided here.

44. ta'pacnakait ("end of the pine trees").
This was a permanent village and scout location where Bickleton is now situated. Many Wayampams and Umatillas were to be found here.

KLIKITAT VILLAGES

1. xla'tixat (Klikitat).
This was a permanent village located on the north side of the Columbia river at the rapids opposite the present town of Lyle. The population was perhaps 200. This was the only point where the Klikitat villages touched the Columbia.

2. la'uli pa·m" ("belonging to the la'uli people").
The confluence of White Salmon river and Jewett creek was the site of this village. It was the largest Klikitat settlement numbering about 500 persons throughout the year. It was also the home of the Klikitat chief, the last of whom was ta'uwita·kc.

3. nakipanık.
A site adjacent to the falls in the White Salmon river, where the present town of Husum is found, was the location of this village. About 150 people lived here throughout the year.

4. xatxa'iwaca.
This was a winter village of about 200 persons located on the White Salmon river four miles above Husum.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

5. kawa'ukai.
This was a summer camp situated where Snowden is now found. It was noted for the surrounding camas meadows. Population, about 100.

6. pa'lx.
This was another summer camas grounds, located between the present towns of Laurel and Glenwood. Many people camped here each summer including visitors from Yakima. The number ranged around 500.

7. ntsila'x.
This summer camp was at Glenwood meadows. Population, 300-400.

8. ca'acaxumni' ("crane").
This summer village, the largest of the Klikitat, was located at Trout lake. It was popular for trout fishing and berry picking.

9. lu'axam ("small burnt place").
A summer camp at Dead Horse meadow, northwest of Guler.

10. tak"ta'k" ("little meadow").
This was an important temporary camp at Peterson Prairie near the head of Lava creek. The summer population varied from perhaps 100 to 150.

11. tc'ikwa'c ("roughly rocky place").
This was an important summer camp about six miles west of no. 10. A horse race track was located here.

12. kalama't ("race track").
This camp and race track was located about two miles west of no. 11.

13. xalk'a ("where wild sunflowers grow").
A summer camp at Huckleberry mountain.

14. panawaswa'kul ("rough, rugged" ?).
A summer camp at Sawtooth mountain.

15. lma'ma ("old woman," mythological reference).
A summer camp at Lemei mountain.

16. wawaya'c ("mosquito site").
A summer camp at Twin Buttes.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

17. kakyâlmi' ("pertaining to the little bird").
A summer camp at Bird mountain.

WAYAMPAM VILLAGES

1. ti'naino
A village on the south side of the Columbia river nearly five miles above The Dalles, Oregon.[49]

2. si'lailo·.
At the present Celilo.[49]
This site is still well occupied but with a very much mixed population.

3. sk'i'n ("cradle").
This was an important Wayampam village located about one-half mile west of the present station called Wishram, on the north side of the Columbia a little above Celilo but on the opposite side.

4. wa'paixt ("where the water runs down").
At the present Wishram station on the north side of the Columbia.

UMATILLA VILLAGES[50]

1. i'matûam ("lots of rocks").
Both sides of the mouth of the Umatilla river were occupied by this important winter village. It was the center of an important berrying and root gathering territory as well as the site of salmon fishing operations. Trails led from here to the mountains where elk, antelope and deer were hunted. Also, grazing lands for horses were available and much horse breeding was done. In native words, "This was a good place to live."
Population, 500-600.

2. tuq'woye'pa ("tule place").
This was a spring and summer camp on the south side of the Columbia river between Umatilla and Cold Springs. Chokecherries, berries, kause and other roots were gathered nearby.

3. xu'lulupa ("rapids in the river").
This was a summer fishing camp on the north side of the Columbia river about three miles above the present Mottinger. Salmon were taken in nets and dried for winter use. Population, 20-30.

[49] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 169.
[50] Incomplete, see section VI.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

4. ama'ama'pa ("island").
This was a stronghold on Blalock island (or those opposite Mottinger?) used as a place of security against raids by the Snake Indians who often attacked the Umatilla and carried off their horses. 103

5. tă·'ksaSam ("elbow in the river").
A temporary camp on the north side of the Columbia river near the present site of the village Roosevelt.

6. k'ami'łp" ("opening through the canyon where light penetrates").
This was a permanent village on the north side of the Columbia at the mouth of Rock creek. It was popular because wood was plentiful. The population was a hundred persons or more.
This village marked the downriver boundary of the Umatilla.

WANAPAM VILLAGES[30]

1. p'nna".
Located on the west side of the Columbia river at Priest Rapids.

2. ca'p'tłłk.
About two miles upriver from no. 1, on the same side. This camp is still occupied today. It now consists of two "long houses" of mats and one tipi type mat lodge. The population is perhaps forty.

3. waya·'nwe.
About one mile north of no. 2, on the west side.

4. tamacsk'uni'skuni.
One mile north of no. 3, same side.

5. xa'txamtcanuwi'tac.
One mile above no. 4, same side.

CAYUSE BANDS

1. kimi'lhicpu.
The Butter creek band.

2. walu·'npu.
The Pilot Rock (Oregon) band.

3. ha'utmipu.
The McKay creek band.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

103

4. nixya·'wipu.
   The band resident near nixya·'wi spring, near the present Cayuse, Oregon.
5. meqicnim‹'pu.
   The Gibbon-Umatilla river band.
6. qapqapi'tspu.
   This was the Cottonwood creek band of Cayuse.
7. pa'cxapu.
   This was the name given to the Cayuse people in the region of the Walla Walla river.

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4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax,
173 the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

131x The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determin-
175 ing tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded
103 native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131
175
103

Lewis and Clark name	*Phonetic transcription*	*English equivalent*	*Location in 1805–1806*
Wah-how-pum[13]	ɤwa'ɬɤwaipam[14]	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am[15]	i'matɬam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low[16]	wɬla'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po[17]	wayi·'letpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum[17]] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah[18]	pɪc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse[19]	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace[20]	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po[21]	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel[22]	ta·'ptat[23]	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom[24]	pcwa'nwapam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee[25]	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low[26]	pa·'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan[27]	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo[28]	xaye·'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po[28]	sxoie'lp[29]	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar[30]	ku·'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish[31]	tski·'sumɪx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

[13] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

[14] Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenmo) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151–300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

[15] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[16] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

[17] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

[18] *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

[19] The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɪc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131*
175
103

The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earlier distribution noted above.[31]

Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecomskink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.[32] [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.[33]

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pishquow (npskwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name ps'ako (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

[30] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[31] *Idem*, map 40.

[32] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

[33] Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

[34] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

[35] *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6. p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-ah-nim (probably Salishan).

[36] *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

[37] The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

[38] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

[39] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[40] The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

[41] *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114–19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

[42] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

[43] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[84]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[85] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[86] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[84] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [85] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [86] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.